WRL News

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Euromissile Blockades Begin in Germany

Bitburg, West Germany, September 3, 9 am— Our caravan of 10 cars just arrived, after seven hours travelling straight through the night. We had come to the peace camp at the Cruise missile site in Bitburg (a small town in a hilly region of Germany near Luxembourg) from the peace camp at the Pershing II missile site in Mutlangen.

By Ed Hedemann

It was a cold day made frigid by an incredibly strong wind. As we crested the hill on the way to the base, make-shift shelters, groups of people huddling together, and tents could be seen scattered over a couple of acres of a recently mowed hay field.

In the distance, near the base entrance, was a hint of what would be in store for us two hours later. There were a couple hundred German police lining the road and two ominous green trucks labeled "POLIZEI." Firmly attached to the trucks was a web of razor wire (a more "exciting" form of

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A brief pause in the firing of water cannons at blockaders in Bitburg to allow police to make arrests. Mandy Carter in the foreground right. *Photo by Hannes Hahn.*

Sanctuary in the Southwest: The "Above Ground Railroad"

By Dorie Bunting

Jim Corbett, a Quaker in Tucson, Arizona, had for some time been helping refugees from Central America enter the United States from Mexico and get out of prison if they were caught by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). In the spring of 1982, Jim asked the Rev. John Fife of Southside United Presbyterian Church in Tucson whether he could help him with this "underground railroad." Rev. Fife then became the first minister to declare publicly in March 1982 that his church was a sanctuary for refugees from El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras. Since then, 62 churches in Tucson have assisted the effort in various ways, and churches in Chicago, Milwaukee, and Seattle, and Washington, D.C. have declared sanctuaries. In doing so, they are defying the law and risking the penalty of up to five years in jail and a maximum $2000 fine. About 500 refugees have been sheltered in Tucson, while others have been "shuttled" northward. Thus the tradition of sanctuary has again been called into service in this century.

From the earliest times, sanctuary has had a deeply religio-political significance. It is a recognition of the moral limits of a civil order and the ultimacy of the divine claim on human allegiance. In the Old Testament, we read that sanctuaries became places where persons guilty of manslaughter were given protection from avengers. This same tradition was recognized both in Roman law for a time and in medieval Canon law. English Common Law provided that sanctuaries could be places of refuge for accused criminals in order to provide a due process for determining guilt or to enable the accused to leave the country in safety. Although James I abolished sanctuaries for criminals in 1623, the custom continued until the 18th century.

In North America in the 19th century, churches provided sanctuary to fugitive slaves and more recently, churches provided sanctuary to draft resisters and thereby expressed their profound objection to the Vietnam war.

And now once again, the sanctuary movement initiated in Tucson has spread far and wide. In August of 1982, the Tucson group called Jim and Mary Dudley of our Friends (Quaker) Meeting in Albuquerque for help with the "shuttle." Soon several of us in the Meeting were housing refugees in transit in our homes and driving them to Santa Fe, Taos, or, more recently, Amarillo. Three or four times last fall, my housemates and I received calls from Flagstaff, Arizona, saying that a party would arrive in the next few days and how many children and adults were in the group. They always arrived here at 3 or 4 am, as the driver from Flagstaff preferred to travel at night. We then drove them to Santa Fe or arranged for someone else to drive them.

In the year of our involvement, we have hosted not more than 10 parties. But the direct contact with these people and hearing from them personally of their traumas is of course deeply disturbing to us privileged Americans. Typically they would tell stories such as, "We felt we had to leave when our neighbors' children were killed." Or, "We were not political. I am a travelling salesman and my travels were suspect. Our house was searched. When that happens, they often return and kill people. We left our 8 children with relatives in a rural area and fled. We hope to return to our country of El Salvador some day."

In May 1983, our Meeting struggled to approve a public statement of limited sanctuary, namely Meeting support for those who were hosting and transporting refugees. We did not feel our Meeting house was large enough for us to declare it as a sanctuary center. Our statement appeared in the Albuquerque *Journal* on May 21. There was no public reaction one way or another.

Santa Fe Friends Meeting adopted a similar statement and has collaborated in the effort. In fact, a member there, Mary Webber, is the main contact person in New Mexico for the "above ground railroad," as we now call it.

Assisting these refugees from Central America has been a privilege for all of us. Mary Dudley expressed it this way: "I felt real sorrow that these people are losing family members, friends, homes. I worried about a young sick child who could not stay in one place long enough to have his lab tests read. I still see one couple with their children, having slept all over our house, rising early in the morning to eat, talk, and enjoy the sunlight in our garden. While I felt anxiety for them, I was strengthened by their strength, faith, and care."

Thus the sanctuary movement has been a unifying and sadly maturing experience. That is its purpose and value, according to Rev. Fife. The sanctuary movement serves to educate the American public,—those who offer sanctuary, through their direct acquaintance with the refugees and the wider public via press interviews with these victims of war. These Central Americans whom we have helped to move to various parts of the country are the fortunate few who are only a fraction of those coming to the United States, thousands of whom have been caught and sent back to further persecution or death in their homelands. And that is why they INS has shown little concern. They say they have limited resources in both money and personnel, and right now the relatively small illegal effort of these church groups is not one of their priorities.

Dorie Bunting is a former WRL National Committee member who lives in Albuquerque, New Mexico.

WRL Statement of Purpose

The War Resisters League affirms that war is a crime against humanity. We therefore are determined not to support any kind of war, international or civil, and to strive nonviolently for the removal of all causes of war.

I support this statement and wish to enroll as a member of the War Resisters League.

Signature _____

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Petra Kelly and the Green Party—an Interview Part II

This interview is continued from the previous (September-October) issue of the WRL News.

WRL: Is there a danger of being coopted by the establishment by being in the Bundestag? How do you avoid it?

KELLY: At the moment I do not think there is a danger of being coopted. Although I notice that between the three speakers—Otto Schily, Marieluise Beck-Oberdorf, and myself—there are some differences, in that I, for example, only go to official meetings or receptions when I can do an action or when I can use it politically in the sense of the Green Party. I just do not go for reasons of hospitality or because of politeness. Many of these official invitations seem a complete waste of time. But if there's a way to make a nonviolent action, as I tried at the George Bush luncheon at Krefeld, then I try to use the occasion to get a point across, nonviolently. Since we have a limitation on our salaries (we get to keep only a part of our salary, the rest goes back to the Green Party), since we have the rotations system (which strictly limits the time any one person can hold a Green Party position), and since we have no way of being corrupted by becoming consultants in companies or firms, the danger is not very great of becoming corrupted at this point. We also try to be totally non-compromising in questions of nuclear energy and nuclear weapons, schools, health, civil rights. This means that we do not make compromises for the sake of getting more power. And even if we had been in a position to tip the scale in the last election to decide who would be Chancellor, we would have made sure not to compromise on certain points.

WRL: The Green Party is often described as an anti-party party. What does this mean?

KELLY: Well, this word I had coined myself. It means the Green Party is a party, but against the conventional or established parties. We have a party that is trying to transcend or transform existing party structures in that we would rather have more sympathizers than more members. We do not want a large membership, but rather groups cooperating with us and we with them. An anti-party party means that we're against the existing corruption of parties that are tied to industry....And so anti-party party means that we are both a new type of party and a movement—a movement on the street that does not alienate itself from that which the party has decided was the consensus among all its members.

WRL: What value and role do you see for nonviolent direct action in Germany? Internationally?

KELLY: The roots of nonviolence in the Green Party have come from my years in the United States....Now nonviolent direct action in Germany is receiving its own tradition. Centers of nonviolent training are being built near the Pershing and Cruise bases. There are peace camps as well. Schwäbisch-Gmünd will be one of the main actions where we hope 1000 people blockade a Pershing II site September 1-3....We have done actions in East Berlin and actions in the SPD party congress. Recently with others, I put myself into a cage and we tied this iron cage to the fence outside Chancellor Kohl's office to show what it means in Turkey (or other countries) to be locked up and treated as animals in a cage. And that nonviolent direct action, which lasted about 10 minutes before the police opened the locks and asked us to leave our so-called symbolic prison, that nonviolent action reached many people because the media reported quite correctly why we did it....I think internationally we must become much more brave and courageous in waging non-

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WRL Benefit With Petra Kelly

Gert Bastian and Petra Kelly at WRL reception.

Photo by Ed Hedemann

On September 20 Petra Kelly, Gert Bastian, and three members of Lyndon Larouche's cultish Labor [sic] Party showed up for a WRL benefit in an upper westside Manhattan apartment. The "Labor" Party people were firmly escorted out after shouting accusations at Petra for being in cahoots with the KGB as well as harboring Nazis in the Green Party (they also accused WRL of being pro-Nazi because of our resistance to World War II). The Larouchites had presented Petra with a nicely wrapped "gift," which the New York City police bomb squad later discovered—after dismantlement—was a black bra.

The benefit, which attracted 75 people, featured short talks by Petra and Gert. There was a light buffet and a lot of mixing among the guests in Jan and Jay Gould's apartment.

Following the benefit was a debate at Columbia University between Petra and right-wing professor Robert Jastrow on the Euromissiles. Because of concern over a reoccurence of the Labor Party antics, several of us went along to provide support and security for Petra, who has frequently been the target of Labor Party harassment in Europe.

Sure enough, a Larouche literature table complete with picketters wearing "Disarm Petra" signs were there. They interrupted her speech several times with questions about "illicit sex" and "KGB/Nazi" sympathies. But Petra, bolstered by enthusiastic audience support (who chanted "OUT!" several times after each interruption) proceeded to outclass and demolish her debating opponent. Kelly has an ability to combine effectively facts and figures with strong moral and political arguments. Her charismatic and outspoken presence creates a tremendous demand by reporters, photographers, admirers, and some who seem to act like groupies.

These two events were the second day of a whirlwind tour of the U.S. for Petra, which also included appearing before the Council on Foreign Relations, on NBCs "Today Show," lecturing at the National War College, American University, Washington Institute of Foreign Affairs, being featured at an "open forum" at the State Department, and participating in a Women Strike for Peace press conference, as well as another one for Women's Party for Survival.

Interview with Petra Kelly *continued from page 3*

violent actions against the multinationals, against the arms industry. Because they are organized internationally, they don't have borders, they do not have any nationalities, they are already long organized on an international basis.

WRL: What major problems do you see in organizing an effective German peace movement? Internationally?

KELLY: The problem will always be that since we are a very decentralized movement it is difficult to get any kind of coordinating body that tries to handle the mail, to handle the invitations, to look for the money. Coordinating committees, made up of 30 people representing various groups, can be sometimes very tedious because you can never have every one of the thousands of autonomous peace groups in Germany representated at these meetings. It's very difficult to organize central events. It takes many months of hard work and the feeling that one organization is getting more priority in the media than another. So it's a terrible problem of competition. When you draft certain appeals or resolutions you have to consult many types of groups—women's groups, third world groups, the Green Party, ecological groups. It means the direct democracy process within the peace movement takes alot of energy. In fact, it takes so much time that we often do not have quite enough time to prepare the content. Internationally, the German peace movement must open itself up to concerns other than the Pershing and Cruise missiles. It should also be concerned with what is happening in the Pacific, Japan, and South Korea. It must become very critical of France's policies on nuclear weapons and energy, uranium concerns in Australia, Indian problems in the United States, the problems of indigenous people, the problems of industrial growth in the third world, the problems of military and civilian uses of nuclear power in African countries.... We must do much more work on conflict resolution. For example, when the Lebanon bloodshed broke out, there should have been an international peace delegation going straight to Lebanon, going straight to the place where all the blood and murder and hatred is. And they should go to northern Ireland, they should go to Nicaragua, they should go to Honduras...

WRL: What differences do you see between the German movement and that of the rest of Europe? And in the U.S.?

KELLY: In the United States, I feel that the peace movement is highly organized, very efficient, very courageous through the many things like blockading Lawrence Livermore, blockading Rocky Flats, or going into the meetings of stockholders, or blockades of embassies. I think it's very creative and very much ahead in terms of nonviolent tradition. On the other hand, it must become more political. It must become a threat to those in power at community level, at state level, at the national level. I think definitely there should be a peace candidate from the peace movement in the United States for the next presidential election. A person who can really put forth a Freeze and far beyond it—a true disarmament position. I'm sure there must be many in the United States from the peace movement who could gain enough votes, a sizeable protest vote. I think that the peace movement must organize to make certain cities, towns, and states nuclear-free.

WRL: You've received alot of international recognition and notoriety. How and when did that come about?

KELLY: Because of my job in Brussels I have spoken on many issues, like ecology, women, children's and migrant workers' rights. I became known through my work with the Grace P. Kelly Association for the Support of Cancer Research in Children. I was also called an "enfant terrible" at the EEC in Brussels because I tried to maintain my feminist and ecological outlook. I was often very critical of EEC decisions. I wrote about them and spoke out about them, at the risk of losing my job—on asbestos dangers and radiation dangers. My work in the anti-nuclear movement, criticisms of the SPD, and running for elections gave me alot of exposure in the media. I never ran to the media nor ran after them. I've tried to be very principled in whom I speak with (e.g., never to the right-wing media).... And I try to show as a woman that you must be very honest, you must say exactly what you feel and believe, you must be emotional on issues on which you are emotional, you must not hide that emotionality and you must remain the person you are, you must never change your personality or your way of speaking just because you are more well-known. You must exactly stay as you are and try to live the changes that you in fact propose for others.

WRL: Has your notoriety created any problems, such as harassment?

KELLY: There has been harassment from men, even men in the peace movement, because they do not like to confront women experts. As soon as women go into the field of weapons expertise and defense expertise, men get frightened and feel that their area is infringed upon. There has been harassment from some rightist groups, some strange groups, for example, from the European Labor Party*. But in large measure there is much sympathy. The mail I get daily amounts to 300 letters (and increasing) and is 99% sympathetic and understanding. So the only harassment or problems it creates is that you get recognized on the street, and people come up discussing their problems with you. You try to speak with them, understand them, and you realize you become almost powerless with the many questions from prisoners, from women and battered wives, etc. There are so many problems that are coming across and you feel totally powerless, totally bleak, you are unable to solve it because the staff of the Greens is small, and it is a very chaotic organization, and you have to do everything 2, 3 or 4 times before anything gets done. It's very tedious. So in fact there's an internal unrest I have, an internal dissatisfaction, at times having to solve the things that are the most important, that have the most priority.

WRL: Where would you like to see the movement go?

KELLY: I would like to see the movement go in the direction where it looks for solutions such as social defense, civilian defense, replacing the old idea of military defense. I would like many more women to be involved, many more women in leadership positions. I would like men to give up their long-kept privileges and rights where they're always the ones to organize the strategies, the ones to organize politically. We have parity in the Greens, but it's not a "must". We *recommend* that 50% be women and 50% be men. Sometimes it gets very frustrating because the percentage is reduced to 30% or even 20% women, and other times it's back up to 50%. I would like the movement to turn much more international and turn toward problems in areas where there has been very little concern. I

**Directly related to Lyndon LaRouche's U.S. Labor Party, etc.*

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Magazine Raided in Norway

Norwegian police raided the homes of 12 members of the editorial staff plus the offices of the magazine *Ikkevold* on Thursday night, October 13. The authorities confiscated mailing lists and personal address books and diaries and placed the 12 board members under threat of arrest. The magazine was accused of publishing military secrets that included the location of a United States submarine listening post in Norway.

The magazine *Ikkevold* is published by the Norwegian section of the War Resisters International (WRI), the Folkereisning Mot Krig (FMK). Ellen Elster, who is on the WRI Council was one of the activists whose home was raided.

Euromissile Blockades *continued from page 1*

barbed wire), and on top were mounted two turrets, each with a long tube-like nozzle.

The action began with demonstrators, now numbering close to 900, holding hands in order to stretch from as close to the base entrance as possible and line the road. We made our line undulate into the road, and the police reacted by forcing us back onto the shoulder. They were equipped with helmets tied to one side of their waists and gas masks on the other side.

Some Doggies Aren't For Petting

Then about 20 police, each with a dog on leash (only one of which was muzzled) trotted out and spaced themselves into the field occupied by the peace camp, near the base entrance. We joked about needing "Milk Bones," some raw steaks, or a bunch of cats to divert the attention of the dogs.

The blockade began as those of us from the Mutlangen peace camp (about 40) approached the base entrance and then moved into the road and sat down. The rest of the demonstrators joined in. We were dragged to a roadside ditch and tossed in. But the police couldn't keep us off the road, since we kept returning. Then they suddenly stopped.

After we were again ordered to clear the road—and refused to comply—the police brought up the dogs, barking viciously and menacing their teeth, to within five feet of the blockaders. The dogs were no empty threat to those of us sitting on the road. The day before, two blockaders were bitten, with one woman being dragged half way across the road. They were treated for minor lacerations.

The dogs were withdrawn and the arrests were begun. After the first couple dozen arrests, the water cannon trucks were moved closer, the nozzles in the turrets leveled at us, and then an incredibly strong stream of water was released. I was one of the "lucky" ones to be on the front line of the blockade, having just missed an opportunity to be arrested dry. I don't know whether they were being fired at full force, but getting absolutely soaked to the skin (except the upper half of my body, which was covered by a rain poncho) in the freezing weather was the least of the problem. The impact on my head and on my back was very painful. The direct impact lasted about 10 seconds. And I got hit perhaps four or five times in what seemed like an interminable period, but was probably 5 or 10 minutes.

The cannons were shut off and the police moved in to arrest us. As I continued to go limp, the two police holding me twisted my hands in such a way as to lift me with my full weight on both wrists. As this caused

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Crossroads in the town of Mutlangen. The Pershing site is 1 kilometer to the right; the peace camp is 2 kilometers to the left.

Photo by Ed Hedemann.

Posing in front of a tank weight limit sign are Maureen Roach (kneeling in front), Mandy Carter, Michael Mongeau (behind her), Alfred Horn (Green Party), Susan Smith, Renata Lang (Green Party), Anne Montgomery, and Bob Henschen.

Photo by Ed Hedemann.

Euromissile Blockades *continued from page 5*

Weaving in and out of road leading to Bitburg base entrance just before blockade is to begin. Holding hands from the left are Susan Smith, Bob Henschen (partially hidden), Maureen Roach, and Mandy Carter. *Photo by Ed Hedemann.*

excruciating pain, I screamed out, but they continued for another minute or two before finally dragging me over to where other demonstrators had lined up for processing.

Eventually, 300 of us were taken soaking wet to a fire house in town to finish our processing. We were released two or three hours later after a mug shot, passport check, and brief questioning. Five WRL representatives (Mandy Carter from WRL/SE, Susan Smith from San Francisco, Bob Henschen from Houston, Michael Mongeau from Philadelphia and the WRL NC, and I) were arrested, as were Anne Montgomery of the Kairos Community in New York, Dan Ellsberg, Maureen Roach of the MfS Religious Task Force, and Phil Berrigan.

The idea for the trip began in June when Petra Kelly of the German Green Party called to say they would like about 10 Americans to participate in the mass blockade of the Pershing II missile site in the town of Mutlangen, near the city of Schwäbisch-Gmünd (not far from Stuttgart) from September 1 to 3. The WRL EC agreed to send five people. This blockade was guaranteed international publicity because of the expected participation of a number of famous people (including Nobel Prize winner Heinrich Böll, author Günter Gräss, Dan Ellsberg, Phil Berrigan, a few members of the Social Democratic Party, and so forth).

The Germans wanted some American participation to dispell the image that the German movement was anti-American. They also saw American participation as a symbol of the need to develop on international struggle against the Pershing, Cruise, and other weapons of mass destruction.

The event at Mutlangen was the centerpiece of the whole affair in terms of publicity, famous people, and numbers of participants. Two days before the Mutlangen blockade was to begin, 44 truck loads of military equipment and personnel left the base. Apparently, the U.S. military had abandoned the base for the duration of the blockade! The Mutlangen peace camp, which set up three kilometers from the base on August 6, decided to proceed with the blockade anyway.

The action involved 60 affinity groups (10 to 15 people per group) taking six or seven hour shifts for an around-the-clock blockade at the two base entrances. As expected, it went without a reaction from the authorities. The international media was out in force, but coverage was limited because of the Korean airline incident, which happened the same day. On the final day of the blockade (September 3) 6000 showed up to participate. One woman set fire to herself as part of the protest, but police put the fire out and she was not seriously burned.

It was during the second evening of the Mutlangen blockade that we learned of the troubles in Bitburg and decided to drive all night to participate in the second and final day of that blockade.

The two blockades provided an interesting contrast. Both were structured virtually the same; and both emphasized nonviolent response to the authorities. The obvious differences were the smaller numbers in Bitburg; the lack of prominent people in Bitburg (and therefore less media); and that Bitburg was in a more conservative area.

Both blockades were an important step forward for the German movement. Mutlangen was ground-breaking in establishing a precedent of a blockade without any police reaction. As a result more people may be encouraged to join in the future. As blockades become more threatening to the authorities and where prominent people are

Before the day's activities are to begin in Bitburg, demonstrators protect themselves from frigid wind. Police are lining up along road. *Photo by Ed Hedemann.*

not obviously present, what happened in Bitburg might be the rule rather than the exception. Bitburg also showed that demonstrators could withstand extreme police provocation without an incident of violence.

Although many Americans may be aware that there are 250,000 American soldiers stationed in Germany (representing about half of all U.S. military personnel stationed outside the U.S.), it is hard to fully comprehend it until you travel around this country with a land area the size of Oregon. In the American sector of West Germany (there are still the British and French sectors), bases are everywhere. It was commonplace to see signs at bridges with not only an image of a truck and its weight limit, but the image of a tank with its weight limit—on main thoroughfares and small roads alike! Our German hosts told stories of tanks on maneuvers rampaging through private farm lands, with little care about crops and fences they ran down. One day during our stay we got a report of 400 local citizens in a small town so fed up with the noise of American tanks that they sat down in front of a tank forcing it to turn around.

The German movement appears to be at a critical point—the German population is against the missiles (75% in a recent poll) and deployment is scheduled for December. There are a number of people within the German movement who are becoming increasingly frustrated at their apparent inability to stop the missiles. Many may be tempted to join the tiny "Autonomous Peace Movement," which is not committed to nonviolent tactics and has gained notoriety through a number of rock throwing incidents.

Mass civil disobedience and other nonviolent direct action tactics are being put to the test. Mutlangen and Bitburg represent the first wave of the use of these tactics this Fall in Germany in opposition to the Cruise and Pershing missiles. But all these actions in Germany may come to naught, if we fail to develop militant campaigns in opposition to these weapons in the U.S. and around the world, as well.

Ed Hedemann is a member of the WRL national staff.

Police dogs brought into action against demonstrators in Bitburg.
Photo by Hannes Hahn.

Water cannons blasting away during Bitburg blockade *Photo by Hannes Hahn.*

Husband of WRL Member Wins Nobel Prize in Physics

Subrahmanyan Chandrasekhar, the astrophysicist who won the 1983 Nobel Prize for Physics, is married to WRL member Lalipha Chandrasekhar. She has been a member of WRL since 1973. Dr. Chandrasekhar won the Prize for his theoretical work on the collapse of stars as their fuel is consumed.

Interview with Petra Kelly *continued from page 4*

would like to see the movement become as brave and as strong as the Greenpeace movement, to make direct nonviolent action in many places at the same time. And I would like the movement to start speaking more with the police, speaking with the soldiers on the American and the German side, trying to convince them and let them see our point of view with much more patience. And I would like the peace movement to develop a nonviolent strategy for the next decade against arms export, against nuclear export. And look for a way to start building up networks, a way to start helping workers convert or leave certain industries, to give them a feeling of security again so that arms and weapons workers have a choice that if they have a problem of conscience they can leave and that they can find another job or so they can show to the company that there can be other, more socially useful things produced than just weapons. And I would like, of course, to see much more cooperation, much more international involvement, many more people traveling to each other, maybe from the East and from the West so that the blocs, the military blocs, will crumble from below, will be in fact, dismantled by the people themselves. Because, from the top, there will never be any dismantling. They're keeping to the structures, the status-quo structures, and that's the way I'd like to see the movement go.

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